

Message Text

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SAJ-01 ACDA-19 SS-15 NSC-10 AEC-11 IO-13 OIC-04 OMB-01

RSR-01 /154 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1263

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3957

E.O. 11652: GDS 12/31/81

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJ: MBFR: VERIFICATION SUB-GROUP CHAIRMAN'S REVISED NOTE

REF: USNATO 3922

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF VERIFICATION SUB-GROUP CHAIRMAN'S PERSONAL NOTE WHICH HAS BEEN REVISED TO REFLECT MODIFICATIONS MADE DURING SUB-GROUP MEETING AUGUST 21 (REFTEL). STATE 167324 NOTAL JUST RECEIVED. UNLESS OTHERWISE INSTRUCTED, WE WILL MAKE POINTS IN THAT MESSAGE DURING WG MEETING AUGUST 29.

TEXT OF NOTE: QUOTE:

MBFR WORKING GROUP-SUB GROUP ON VERIFICATION

DRAFT REPORT

1. THE SUB GROUP HAS BEEN INVITED TO CARRY OUT BY 24 AUGUST AN EXAMINATION OF THE TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF THE VERIFICATION
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MEASURES FOR THE SPECIFIC REDUCTION OPTIONS OUTLINED IN THE BELGIAN, UNITED STATES, AND UK PAPERS, AGAINST THE CONTINGENCY THAT THESE OPTIONS ARE ADOPTED BY THE COUNCIL. IT HAS BEEN SUGGESTED THAT IN DOING SO IT SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT

OF RELEVANT ASPECTS OF SHAPE COMMENTS ON "THE US APPROACH TO MBFR (30 APRIL 1973)".

2. THE REDUCTION FIGURES WITH WHICH WE HAVE TO DEAL ARE:-

(A) BELGIAN PAPER 20 JULY

US SOVIET
32,500 66,000

(B) UK PAPER 30 JULY

NOT MORE THAN 10 PCT OF US NOT LESS THAN 10 PCT OF
FORCES IN THE GLA, SOVIET FORCES IN GLA, TO
INCLUDING NOT MORE THAN TWO INCLUDE THREE TANK
BRIGADES DIVISIONS
(19,000) (39,000)

(C) US PAPER OF 27 JULY

US SOVIET
29,000 68,000 INCLUDING A FIVE-
DIVISION TANK ARMY

(D) GENERAL

ALL THREE PAPERS MAY BE TAKEN TO ASSUME AN AGREEMENT TO
RESPECT THE NEW LEVELS OF US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES
POST REDUCTION.

(E) DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE REDUCTION PACKAGES DO NOT SEEM TO
BE ENOUGH TO DEMAND DIFFERING VERIFICATION SYSTEMS, EXCEPT
TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY PLACE DIFFERING EMPHASIS ON
MANPOWER REDUCTIONS AND CEILINGS WHICH ARE VERY DIFFICULT
TO VERIFY.

3. THE US PAPER OF 27 JULY SUGGESTS SOME MEASURES WHICH,
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THOUGH NOT SPECIFICALLY DESIGNED AS SUCH, WOULD IN THE OPINION
OF THE SUB GROUP BE OF SOME ASSISTANCE IN THE PROCESS OF
VERIFICATION AND MIGHT BE SEEN AS COLLATERAL TO IT, PARTICULARLY TO
THE EXTENT THAT THEY THEMSELVES ARE VERIFIED. THESE ARE:

(A) "PRE-REDUCATION STABILIZING MEASURES" IN THE NATO
GUIDELINES AREA (GLA)

(I) PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MOVEMENTS OF US AND SOVIET
FORCES INTO THE AREA, INCLUDING ROTATIONS;

(II) PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR EXERCISES, BY ALL
FORCES, TOGETHER WITH LIMITS ON THEIR SIZE,

LOCATION, NUMBER AND DURATION;

(III) EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES;

(B) "STABILIZING MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS AND TO MAKE REDUCTIONS PROVISIONS EFFECTIVE".

(I) LIMITATIONS ON MOVEMENTS OF US/SOVIET FORCES INTO THE AREA;

(II) LIMITATIONS ON MOVEMENTS OF US/SOVIET FORCES ACROSS NATIONAL BOUNDARIES WITHIN THE AREA;

(III) NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS

4. THESE MEASURES, THOUGH NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE VERIFICATION OF REDUCTIONS AND OF AGREED POST-REDUCTION LEVELS, WOULD AFFORD AN INCREASED INSIGHT INTO WP MILITARY ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE GLA AND COULD BE REGARDED AS COLLATERAL TO VERIFICATION. INDEED WE FIND THAT THE DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN "CONSTRAINTS", "STABILIZING MEASURES" AND "MEASURES COLLATERAL TO VERIFICATION" IS FAR FROM CLEAR.

5. THE US PAPER, IN DIRECT REFERENCE TO VERIFICATION, FAVOURS CONSIDERATION OF VERIFICATION MEASURES DESCRIBED IN THE US PAPER OF 30 APRIL. THESE INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING MEASURES:-

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(A) FEWER RESTRICTIONS ON NATIONAL MILITARY ATTACHES AND MLMS;

(B) OBSERVATION OF AGREED WITHDRAWALS BY NATIONAL ATTACHES AND/OR SPECIAL GROUND OBSERVATION TEAMS CONSTITUTED FOR THIS PURPOSE;

(C) SPECIAL MOBILE INSPECTION TEAMS IN THE REDUCTIONS AREA IN THE POST-MBFR PERIOD;

(D) LIGHT AIR CAPABILITY (HELICOPTERS) FOR MOBILE INSPECTION TEAMS;

(E) NON-INTERFERENCE WITH NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS.

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6. IT IS EXPLICIT IN THE VERIFICATION SECTION OF THE US PAPER OF 30 APRIL 1973 (PAGE 14) THAT VERIFICATION MAY HAVE TO DEPEND HEAVILY UPON THE NORMAL PROCESS OF COVERT INTELLIGENCE IN ITS VARIOUS FORMS. THIS THOUGHT TOGETHER WITH THE COLLATERAL MEASURES IN PARA 4 ABOVE AND THE VERIFICATION MEASURES IN PARA 5 IS IN LINE WITH AC/276-(70)WP(35) (REVISED), WHICH INTER ALIA GIVES A FULLER DESCRIPTION OF A POSSIBLE ORGANISATION FOR A MOBILE INSPECTORATE ("ADVERSARY-MANNED"). AS AN INDICATION OF THE NUMBERS REQUIRED APPENDIX B TO ANNEX, PARA 27, SUGGESTS A NATO REQUIREMENT FOR 130 TWO-MAN TEAMS TO COVER THE GLA, CALCULATED ON A SOMEWHAT SPECIALISED BASIS.

7. AS TO THE USE OF OUR MLMS AND MILITARY ATTACHES THERE IS A DANGER THAT WE MIGHT PUT THEM AT RISK BY SUGGESTING THAT THEY MIGHT BE OFFICIALLY USED FOR WHAT THE RUSSIANS HAVE HITERERTO CALLED 'SPYING'. THE ACTIVITIES OF MLMS ARE CONTROLLED BY RULES AGREED BETWEEN THEIR COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. SUCH RULES WOULD PROBABLY HAVE TO BE EXAMINED AND MODIFIED BEFORE THE MISSIONS COULD CO-OPERATE IN MBFR VERIFICATION. FURTHER, ITEMS SUCH AS 3(B)(II) SHOULD BE SO DRAFTED AS NOT TO ET PRECEDENTS WHICH MIGHT BE DAMAGING FOR NATO SHOULD EUROPEAN
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FORCES BECOME INVOLVED.

8. US/SOVIET FORCES ONLY

THE PREVIOUS WORK OF THE SGVE WAS BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT NOTONLY US AND SOVIET BUT ALSO EUROPEAN FORCES WOULD BE SUBJECT TO REDUCTION AND THEREFORE TO VERIFICATION MEASURES. TO THE EXTENT THAT REDUCTIONS AND OTHER CONTROLS ARE APPLIED IN A FIRST PHASE TO US AND SOVIET FORCES THERE MIGHT BE A CASE FOR

(A) REDUCING THE SIZE OF THE INSPECTORATE

(B) MODIFYING THE NATIONAL COMPOSITION OF THE INSPECTION
TEAMS

(C) IMPOSING SPECIAL RESTRICTIONS ON ACCESS BY THE LATTER
TO FORCES OTHER THAN US AND SOVIET.

THE VERIFICATION PROBLEM WOULD BE SIMPLER AND THUS A SMALLER
INSPECTORATE MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE. (B) AND (C) ABOVE SEEM HOWEVER
TO BE POLITICAL MATTERS OUTSIDE OUR COMPETENCE; IT WOULD HOWEVER
BE TECHNICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS TO NATO FOR AN INSPECTORATE ADEQUATE
FOR A POSSIBLE PHASE II TO BE DEPLOYED FROM THE OUTSET.

9. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE VERIFICATION SYSTEM

THE US PAPER OF 30 APRIL ANNEX E PP. 5 TO 10
OFFERS AN ESTIMATE OF US CAPABILITY
TO MONITOR REDUCTIONS AND POST-REDUCTION LEVELS BY THE CURRENT
INTELLIGENCE PROCESS. WE SEE NO REASON TO DISSENT FROM THIS
ESTIMATE; AND WE CONSIDER THAT THE MEASURES MENTIONED IN PARAS 3
AND 5 WOULD INCREASE THIS CAPABILITY. WE ALSO NOTE THE
SUGGESTION IN AC/276-WP(70)35 THAT THE RUSSIANS MAY BE EXPECTED
TO BE WILLING TO CO-OPERATE TO A LIMITED EXTENT IN THE MONITORING
OF ACTUAL REDUCTIONS.

10. ACCEPTABILITY OF VERIFICATION MEASURES TO NATO

THE US PAPER OF 30 APRIL 1973 DRAWS ATTENTION (PAGE 14) TO
THE POSSIBILITY THAT SOME VERIFICATION MEASURES MIGHT BE
DETRIMENTAL TO NATO. THIS QUESTION WAS DEALT WITH IN
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AC276-D(72)1 WHICH CONCLUDES THAT MEASURES OF THE TYPE ENVISAGED
IN THIS REPORT SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO NATO SUBJECT TO A FEW
SIMPLE RESTRAINTS ON THE ACCESS AND SCOPE PERMITTED TO ADVERSARY
INSPECTION TEAMS.

11. OBSERVATION TEAMS IN THE 3 WMDS OF THE USSR

SACEUR HAS PROPOSED THAT AGREEMENT SHOULD BE SOUGHT FOR
THE DEPLOYMENT OF NATO OBSERVATION TEAMS IN THE 3 WMDS OF
THE USSR. EXCEPT TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY MIGHT OBSERVE THE
MOVEMENTS OF SOVIET FORMATIONS TOWARDS THE CZECH AND POLISH
FRONTIERS WITH THE POSSIBLE INTENTIONS OF CROSSING THEM
ILLICITLY THIS PROPOSAL HAS MORE TO DO WITH 'EARLY WARNING'
THAN 'VERIFICATION', SO WE DO NOT PURSUE IT FURTHER.

12. CONCLUSIONS

(A) THE PROPOSALS FOR VERIFICATION AND COLLATERAL MEASURES
IN THE US PAPERS OF 30 APRIL AND 27 JULY ARE
CONSISTENT WITH THE MEASURES DESCRIBED IN AC/276-WP(70)35

AND COULD WELL BE ADAPTED TO THE REDUCTION OPTIONS
IN THE BELGIAN, UNITED STATES AND UK PAPERS.

(B) AGREED OVERT MEASURES OF INSPECTION ARE CLEARLY
DESIRABLE. IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO STATE AT THIS TAGE
THE SCALE OF INSPECTION TEAMS FOR WHICH AGREEMENT
SHOULD BE SOUGHT, NOR THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THEIR
CONTRIBUTION TO THE VERIFICATION PROCESS.

(C) ANY DISADVANTAGES FOR NATO COULD BE REDUCED BY

(I) ADOPTION OF THE RESTRICTIONS DESCRIBED IN
AC/276-D(72)1;

(II) CAREFUL ADVANCE CONSIDERATION OF THE IMPLICATIONS
OF PROPOSING THE USE OF NATIONAL MDMS AND SERVICE
ATTACHES FOR THE OBSERVATION OF REDUCTION AND
POST-REDUCTION MEASURES.

END TEXT. RUMSFELD

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